

THE MILITANT

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83 Endorse DeBerry As Protest Against U.S. War in Vietnam

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK — Eighty-three independent voters, including figures from the literary and academic world and from the anti-war and civil rights movements, have endorsed the Socialist Workers Party mayoralty ticket as a means of registering their opposition to the Vietnam war.

The statement of endorsement appeared as an eleven inch by two column display advertisement in the Oct. 28 issue of the widely read New York weekly, the *Village Voice*. It was also slated for publication in the Nov. 1 *New York Times*.

Among those endorsing the SWP slate are Warren Miller, author of *The Cool World*, *90 Miles from Home* and *The Siege of Harlem*.

He was joined in the endorsement by the noted literary critic Maxwell Geismar and by José Yglesias, who did the translations from the Spanish in *90 Miles from Home* and who is author of the novel, *A Wake in Ybor City*.

More Signers

The ad was signed by Paul Krassner, editor of *The Realist*, the free-wheeling satirical magazine which has gained a big campus following.

It was also signed by John Wilcock, columnist for the *Village Voice* and author of the widely used travel guide, *Mexico on \$5 a Day*.

Another signer is Tana de Gamez, the art critic.

Representatives of the academic world who signed include Dr. Ephraim Cross of City College; Prof. Emile Capouya of the New School, and Prof. Vernon K. Dibble of Columbia.

Other endorsers were Dr. Allen Krebs, director of the Free University, and James G. Mellen, secretary-treasurer of the Free University and an instructor at Drew University.

Carl Marzani and Alex Mun-



Photo by Bernard Cole
Warren Miller

sell of the publishing firm of Marzani and Munsell endorsed the slate, along with Charlotte Pomerantz, editor of the firm's widely circulated book, *A Quarter of a Century of Un-American*.

The ad was also signed by pacifist leader Al Uhrie and by Stan Steiner.

Among the civil rights activists who endorsed the ticket are attorney Conrad Lynn; James Haughton, a Harlem leader in the fight for jobs; and Vivian Anderson who lost her teaching job after refusing to cooperate with a grand jury allegedly probing the causes of the 1963 Harlem outbreak.

Vietnam Issue Relevant

Declaring the Vietnam issue "relevant in the New York City elections," the signers of the statement said:

"It is on the basis of the Socialist Workers Party's election campaign of opposition to the Vietnam War that we, the undersigned, who are not members of the Socialist Workers Party and who do not necessarily agree with other planks in its program, call for a vote for Clifton DeBerry. In this campaign, a vote for the Socialist Workers Party is a vote to end the Vietnam war."



Conrad Lynn

New Yorkers: VOTE ROW H

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party will be on Row H on the ballot along with the Socialist Labor Party. The two parties' candidates for each municipal office will be alternated down the row.

The Board of Elections originally lumped the right-wing United Taxpayers Party, the SWP and SLP on a single line. This was protested by the Taxpayers and SWP in the State Supreme Court whose Appellate Division ruled that the United Taxpayers should have a line of their own, but left the SWP and SLP on a single line. This is blatant discrimination since the law specifically states that each candidate shall have a line of his own on the ballot.

Gov't, Press, Seek to Smear Opponents of Vietnam War

By Fred Halstead

Attempts by government spokesmen, congressmen and sections of the press to smear the anti-Vietnam-war movement as a group of "cowardly draft dodgers," and as "treasonous" and "illegal" are an expression of alarm at the mounting popular opposition to the war as expressed in the massive demonstrations of the Oct. 15-17 weekend.

A number of congressmen and newspapers — as well as FBI director J. Edgar Hoover — have attempted to promote a McCarthy-type anti-communist hysteria and have demanded the government initiate widespread prosecutions against the movement. On the other hand, there are those like the *New York Times*, who have been careful to make a distinction between what they call "illegal" activity to "beat" the draft and "legal" demonstrations to end the war in Vietnam.

Fear Mass Protest

All, however, are engaged in a concerted campaign to minimize the impact of the mass demonstrations. They lied about their size and falsely portrayed them as dominated by a few acts of civil disobedience against the draft. They would like to have people believe that the antiwar movement is largely limited to those willing or able to defy the enforcement of the draft law.

What they really fear is a mass protest movement against U.S. intervention in the Vietnam civil war. They equally fear the inevitable sympathy such protests will evoke among the U.S. troops themselves.

Spokesmen for sections of the antiwar movement responsible for the Oct. 16 weekend demonstrations — including the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee — have responded to the charge of "communist infiltration" in the most effective manner.

They have proclaimed the principle of non-exclusion on which the new antiwar movement has been built and is growing. They have pointed out that it is anti-



Photo by Finer

NEW YORK PROTEST. Scene at street rally following Oct. 16 parade down Fifth Avenue demanding end of Vietnam war. On platform is Dave Dellinger, chairman of rally, and I. F. Stone, editor of I. F. Stone's Weekly.

communist hysteria itself which must be challenged and have proclaimed the principle of working with anyone opposed to the war, including persons of all political or philosophical persuasions.

The response on the other aspect of the smear — the one centering around allegedly "illegal" anti-draft activity — has been less well thought out in some sections of the movement.

Twisted Publicity

Spokesmen for the movement have correctly defended the individual right of those who oppose being drafted to fight in this illegal, undeclared and immoral war. But some illusions about anti-draft activity have been manifested within the antiwar movement apparently sparked by the distorted publicity about the Oct. 15-17 weekend.

In the news coverage following the weekend demonstrations the major press played down the fact

of the massive turnouts. Except for the first issues following the New York parade of 30,000, the papers hardly mentioned this event. Instead they devoted column after column to a few isolated acts of civil disobedience against the draft and to plans for other such activity. Some tended to conclude from these accounts that draft defiance is what the warmakers fear most, that it is this "hot" issue around which the largest number of people could be mobilized. Nothing could be further from the truth.

In centering on the anti-draft issue the jingoists are seizing upon what they view as the most vulnerable aspect of the antiwar movement in the hope of exploiting it to isolate the movement from the millions of Americans, including those already in the armed forces, who are disturbed about this war.

It is clear that certain types

(Continued on Page 3)

New Berkeley March Will Protest Vietnam War, Curbs on Liberties

By Hal Verb

BERKELEY, Calif. Oct. 24 — In the face of blatantly unconstitutional opposition by Oakland and Berkeley city authorities, a new march on Oakland has been called for Nov. 20 by the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee which initiated the Oct. 15-16 International Days of Protest against the war in Vietnam. In another significant development, the VDC and a local AFL-CIO union joined forces to turn back a strike-breaking attempt by ultra-right-led hoodlums who had previously attacked VDC demonstrators.

The Oct. 15-16 program here had included a peaceful parade through Berkeley and Oakland to the Oakland Army Terminal, but the march was stopped by Oakland police at the Oakland-Berkeley line. The head of the march was attacked by the Hells' Angels motorcycle gang, and a massive sit-in was held on the spot.

The proposed "national march" on Oakland, first planned for Nov. 6 but rescheduled to Nov. 20 to allow time for mobilizing full support, will be conducted not only "to oppose American intervention

in Vietnam," but also "to demand an end to Federal and local suppression of the protest movement."

Oakland Mayor John C. Houlahan has appealed to Gov. Edmund G. Brown to declare illegal the use of the Berkeley campus of the University of California to organize the march. Berkeley's mayor, Wallace Johnson, made this startling totalitarian statement: "Never again must Berkeley have to cope with the uncertainties, the danger to life and property, the public inconvenience, and the staggering cost of police protection involved in a mass parade."

Officials Accused

In a press statement the VDC accused both Mayor Johnson and U of C Chancellor Roger Heyns of "violating the Constitution of the University of California — as established by the Resolution of December 8 that content of political speech cannot be regulated by university authorities, whether legal or illegal. We will fight to protect that fundamental right. The university must be free of outside political pressures . . . We expect that by Nov. 20 the Oak-

land Wall will give way in favor of the Constitution of the USA."

The *Daily Californian*, U of C's student newspaper, expressed support for the recent march when it declared in an editorial Nov. 18: "The marchers must be commended for their restraint and calmness in the face of hostile onlookers and the Oakland police. . . We only hope this demonstration has shown Americans that protest is not dangerous, that there are many persons protesting, and that protest must be a part of the American system."

The influential *San Francisco Chronicle*, a liberal Republican paper, in a stinging editorial Oct. 21 entitled "Oakland's New Foreign Policy," attacked the city officials' suppression of civil liberties. The paper said: "Last weekend there was introduced into the free and great society of the East Bay the concept of the Oakland Wall. Here, at checkpoint Houlahan, foreigners were held up by the city's defense forces, impregnable against all comers except the Hell's Angels. The unavailability of the Oakland streets for a dem-

(Continued on Page 3)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Another Betrayal on Vietnam

Two top leaders of the AFL-CIO have joined George Meany's campaign to browbeat rank-and-file American trade unionists into supporting the war in Vietnam. On Oct. 21, Walter P. Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers' Union, announced that the union's International Executive Board had unanimously adopted a statement supporting the war. A similar statement was released by I. W. Abel, President of the United Steelworkers of America (USA). This statement was also adopted unanimously, by the steel union's Executive Board.

Another union local was recently put on record supporting the Vietnam War when John J. O'Rourke, President of Joint Coun-

cil No. 16, New York City, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, jumped on Johnson's war wagon.

A half-page ad in the New York Sunday News of Oct. 24, addressed to President Johnson and signed by O'Rourke and the Council 16 Executive Board opposed antiwar demonstrations, saying, "students, disgruntled misfits, parents and children carrying placards decrying our involvement in the Vietnam War are a disgrace to our people and to our country." The USA statement released by I. W. Abel complained "that the critics of our Vietnam policy either misunderstood or are intentionally misrepresenting the facts."

The UAW statement was the second since March 26, at which time the union called for negotiations in Vietnam and "adequate peace keeping forces under the United Nations or some other international instrument." The present UAW statement, however, has dropped the demand for U.N. intervention in favor of "support for the current administration policy in Vietnam." The statement refers to President Johnson's April 7 offer of "unconditional negotiations," as justification for their stand.

All these statements are mere echoes of the reactionary line mouthed by AFL-CIO President George Meany. In a speech to the American Legion Convention in Portland, Ore., Aug. 26, published in the September *Free Trade Union News*, Meany attacked "those in our midst or elsewhere who are flooding Washington with pleas for negotiations."

In an editorial in the October *American Federationist*, Meany again defended "the Americans and South Vietnamese fighting to defend the territorial integrity and independence of the republic of South Vietnam" and called for greater understanding and "wholehearted support for President Johnson's course."

After eulogizing the Saigon forces, he then cynically observes, "We must emphasize with all the energy at our command that our government would be very well advised to impress forcefully upon the Ky regime the urgency of its discontinuing its hostile attitude and acts against the Confederation of Vietnam Workers (CVT) and the organizations of the peasantry. The American military forces can do much in this direction by impressing upon the cooperating Vietnamese military commanders the enormous importance of befriending rather than harassing and hounding the spokesmen of labor."

Reuther's support of Meany's policy has undermined his image of being a liberal lesser-evil to Meany in the labor movement just as Johnson's lesser-evil image in capitalist politics has been shaken by his carrying out and intensifying Goldwater's war program.

I. W. Abel's support to the war likewise strips him of the militant image he conjured up when he recently defeated conservative David MacDonald in the elections for president of the Steelworkers.

O'Rourke has also portrayed himself as a clean progressive unionist in opposition to Teamster President James Hoffa.

All these leaders have something else in common. Their war statements represent the thinking and reaction of only a handful of union bureaucrats. It is very unlikely that the majority of American rank-and-file unionists would support this policy if they were aware of the anti-worker and anti-peasant policies of the Saigon puppet regime which Meany has admitted.

—Tom Leonard

Rips U.S. Aggression

Raul Roa's UN Speech

By Harry Ring

Cuba continues to firmly press its revolutionary foreign policy. This is apparent from the speech delivered by Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa to the General Assembly of the United Nations on Oct. 15.

The Cuban people, Dr. Roa declared, remained resolute in "their independent view, their anti-imperialist and socialist view."

He delivered a slashing attack against U.S. imperialism which he branded the principal threat to peace in the world and declared it could be set back only by a united, resolute struggle of all the anti-imperialist forces.

In this connection, he stressed Cuba's view of the importance of the conference of anti-imperialist forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America which will convene in Havana next Jan. 3. He said the tri-continental congress "will constitute the point of departure of wider, deeper, and more active joint action against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism."

Indicting U.S. aggression, the Cuban spokesman declared:

"It is they who brutally attack the Democratic Republic of Vietnam... They supply weapons and money to check the emancipation of the subject peoples of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea. It is they who indirectly bomb Laos, who threaten the independence of Cambodia, who undermine the sovereignty of Cyprus, who oppose the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, who indirectly or directly organize individual or collective invasions against Cuba..."

Describing how the OAS had been fashioned into an instrument of U.S. policy and noting the declaration of the U.S. House of Representatives on the "right" to intervene in any Latin American



Raul Roa

country threatened by "subversion," Dr. Roa recalled the words of Che Guevara at the last session of the General Assembly. Guevara had declared at that time: "Cuba, a free and sovereign state, with no chains binding it to anyone, with no foreign investments on its territory, with no proconsuls orienting its policy, can speak while holding its head high in this Assembly and proving the justice of the phrase by which we will be called 'Free Territory of America.'"

Declaring war and imperialism indivisible, Roa called for militant struggle as the only way of establishing peace. "If the imperialists are the sworn enemies of peace" he said, "and if we truly want peace, there is no alternative but the concerted action of peoples and governments of the socialist countries, the non-aligned countries, and the peace-loving countries to cut off the hands of the imperialists wherever these hands are perpetrating their misdeeds."

He added: "Each rout suffered

Not What They Look Like

Catch in Union Pensions

By Arthur Maglin

Union militants have long demanded that all company pension plans include vesting provisions. "Vesting" gives workers "a vested interest" in all funds set aside in pension plans with the right to transfer such funds whenever they change jobs or get fired.

As it is now, most pension plans contain no vesting provisions. As soon as a worker loses his job, for whatever reason, he loses everything he has put into the pension fund.

Even without vesting provisions, far from the whole labor force is covered by private pension plans. Pennsylvania Congressman Elmer J. Holland of the House Subcommittee on Labor indicated Sept. 15 that only 60 percent of non-farm employees are nominally covered by company pension plans.

"But," Holland revealed, "no one should be misled into believing that anywhere near 60 percent of the American workers in private industry today will ever manage to qualify for a private pension, under the current provisions typically found in these plans. A Department of Labor study has revealed the disturbing fact that vesting provisions in private pension plans are so limited that even after 20 years of continuous service with one employer, a majority of workers today would be entitled to receive nothing whatsoever, if they should be discharged at the age of 45. Twenty years of 'coverage' under the employer's plan would have added not a penny to their ultimate retirement income."

As with many "fringe benefits," there is generally more "fringe" than benefit. The top union

bureaucrats divert the ranks from a real struggle for improving the workers' standard of living by means of fringe-benefit-filled contracts that conceal bad bargains in terms of real wages and hours.

The so-called "private" pension plans divide the interests of the organized and unorganized working people. Without vesting provisions older workers tend to be divided by their seniority from younger workers to whom retirement plans are poor substitutes for increased wages, reduced hours and improved working conditions.

Under pension plans lacking vesting provisions, workers become tied to the company because of the loss of retirement benefits involved should they leave.

The demand for vesting provisions in private pension plans is a minimum necessity for those covered by such retirement schemes but is only a partial solution to the problem of providing adequate coverage for all workers — young and old, organized and unorganized. Instead of the present tendency to create arbitrary divisions among various sectors of the working people, it is necessary to advance the unifying demand that the federal government take responsibility for providing adequate pensions upon retirement equal to trade union wages for all workers.

With federal pension coverage for all, the workers could devote the time, energy and sacrifices now expended to win dubious "fringe" concessions to their basic need for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

by the Yankee imperialists at the hands of the Vietnamese is a step toward peace. Every people that free themselves from the imperialist yoke is an effective step toward peace. Each military base evacuated is an effective step toward peace. The most effective step toward peace was the overwhelming rout at Playa Giron."

Reiterating Cuba's solidarity with the people of North and South Vietnam, Dr. Roa declared Cuba's support of North Vietnam's four-point basis for peace: Independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

He denounced the South African racist regime and said Cuba, "a country in which the socialist revolution has wiped out all vestiges of racial discrimination offers a fraternal hand to the black men and women who are suffering and striving for their rights in South Africa."

Turning to the crisis in Rhodesia, he said: "The Cuban delegation supports the opposition of the people of Southern Rhodesia to any transfer of their sovereignty or usurpation of power, and it shares the repudiation by the African States of any unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority which is exploiting and oppressing the black majority of that country."

Dominican Intervention

Assailing the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, Roa said: "As in previous decades, the United States has had to bring in its Marines to ensure that its point of view prevailed. For 30 years they had said those times would not be repeated, and yet those times have been repeated. The Dominican people today know that those times will only end with the final liquidation of imperialism."

Expressing optimism about the developing revolutionary consciousness of the Dominican people, he also saw positive developments in Latin America. He said that the revolutionary movements in Venezuela, Guatemala and Colombia are growing and that the guerrilla struggle was developing in Peru.

In an impassioned plea for support to the Puerto Rican independence movement, he declared that "since that country has no voice in the United Nations, it is the voice of Cuba, a sister in history and in aspiration, that will speak for Puerto Rico."

Goldberg's Answer

Arthur Goldberg, the U.S. delegate, replied to Dr. Roa's speech by asserting that the U.S. has offered to "unconditionally" negotiate in Vietnam and that people were leaving Cuba for Puerto Rico but people were not leaving Puerto Rico for Cuba.

Exercising the right of reply, Dr. Roa pointed out that those who were leaving Cuba were the ones whose class interests were injured by the revolution and that they were leaving in the same way that large numbers migrated from the U.S. to Canada after the victory of the revolution in this country.

Dr. Roa added: "It is a fact that there has been no exodus of Puerto Ricans to Cuba, nor is it necessary for me to say that we would welcome them as brothers."

"But the representative of the United States deliberately omitted saying that there has indeed been a mass migration of Puerto Ricans, estimated at more than a million, to this pretended sanctuary of the self-styled free world that has given them in exchange for their naive hopes the most tragic living conditions and opportunities for only the lowest employment. They fled from colonial misery only to fall into imperialist contempt."

Your Help Is Needed

Beginning January 1966, the Post Office requires that we include the zip code number with all subscribers' addresses. If we don't have yours, would you please drop us a card at once. We can't promise it will improve speed of delivery but it will help us avoid unnecessary headaches.

—Tom Leonard

... Seek to Smear Antiwar Forces

(Continued from Page 1) of anti-draft activity, such as the burning of draft cards, subject those who engage in it to government prosecution. Therefore many people opposed to the war cannot or will not engage in such activity. If the movement becomes centered around such activity it will be reduced to a relative handful of individuals with a highly developed sense of self sacrifice. In addition it would be foolhardy for the movement to sacrifice its most dedicated and active members to almost certain long jail terms when they are desperately needed to organize the mass sentiment which does exist against the war and which has barely begun to find expression.

It can be argued that programs for conscientious objection do not involve the risk of imprisonment. That may be so, and in any case the right of individuals to refuse to be drafted for this illegal war should be defended. But these programs cannot be an effective way to mobilize mass opposition to the war, and they cannot have any appreciable effect on the war.

Even if relatively large num-

bers of young men were able to gain conscientious objector's status, the authorities would simply raise the draft quotas by a fraction and continue to get all the men they needed for the military machine. Vice President Humphrey's recent statement that young men who object to the war might be given the opportunity to serve in the Peace Corps is indication enough that the government is not seriously worried about having its military strength sapped by conscientious objection.

The idea of challenging draft enforcement is advanced as a means which the antiwar movement can utilize to broaden itself by appealing to wider sections of the population.

But these programs of conscientious objection and defiance of the draft can have no direct appeal to the millions already in the armed forces and who are stuck with it regardless of what they think about the Vietnam war. They can have no direct appeal to the overwhelming majority of draftable young men who simply won't be able to qualify for conscientious objector's status, who can't fool the induction center doctors, and who reject the alternative of going to jail even if they are angry and opposed to the war. These programs can't even mobilize the average student who is against the war, and would relegate the large numbers of young women now active in the antiwar movement to a secondary and passive role.

When the U.S. was still in the early stages of escalating the war, when not many people were even aware of what was building up, and when those opposed to the war appeared to be a tiny minority, it was easy to think that dramatic action by a few individuals was the most effective thing to do. At least it was something and called attention to a crime that was being largely ignored. This is no longer the situation.

The idea of mass opposition to the war right here in the U.S. has proved realistic. The teach-ins and demonstrations are having a profound impact. The true facts about the war are coming through, and

a great majority of Americans are disturbed about it, are questioning it, and millions are opposed to it.

The depth of the unpopularity of this war has not yet been plumbed or given expression. This is the great task of the antiwar movement at the present stage. Nothing should be allowed to divert the movement from that task. The lives of thousands of U.S. G.I.'s and countless Vietnamese men, women and children depend upon it.

In this context the anti-draft "campaign" is a diversion, tending to restrict the movement to that relatively small portion of the population which is ready to accept pacifist philosophy or challenge the enforcement of the draft law. It also tends to obscure the simple fact that one demonstration by soldiers in Vietnam voicing the demand "We Want to Go Home!" will do more to end the war than a thousand students in jail.

The withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam is also the only realistic way the war can be ended. This is the sentiment on which the new antiwar movement has been built, and around which it can unify the activists in the movement. Stated simply — Bring the GI's Home from Vietnam Now! — is also the slogan which will be readily understood by the widest sections of the U.S. population — even by people who have no particular interest in politics.

It cuts right through the right wing propaganda designed to isolate the movement. Instead of antagonizing the troops in Vietnam, it is designed to evoke their sympathy and gratitude. It appeals directly to those in the armed forces or about to enter them, and who don't want to die in an unjust war. It appeals directly to all draft-age youth, because it is the Vietnam war which has made the draft calls necessary.

Young men of draft age, or men in the military services, have the right to express opinions



Photo by Atwood

DEMONSTRATORS. Participants in New York Parade to Stop the War in Vietnam Now included many militant, radical-minded young people as indicated by posters carried by this group.

about the Vietnam war. They do not lose these rights when drafted and should exercise them. They have the right to know the truth about Vietnam, and the antiwar movement has a right to make that truth available to them. Soldiers and sailors have the right to vote. Surely they should have the right to discuss the issues, including the most important issue in national politics today, the Vietnam war. They should have the right to hear these issues debated, to debate themselves, to advocate opinions, to disagree with the administration's foreign policy.

They should have the right to organize meetings on this question, to invite speakers, to adopt positions. And surely they should have the right to demonstrate, as their predecessors in the U.S. armed forces did in the huge going-home movements which forced the demobilization of the armies after the Second World War.

The slogan "Bring the GI's Home from Vietnam Now!" is the bridge between the students, the workers and the troops. It is the slogan of the movement's future, the goal it must achieve. It is also the slogan around which the movement can be built right now, while it is still appealing largely to student radicals, because it clearly distinguishes those who raise it from those who raise only misleading demands such as "negotiate," that even President Johnson can claim to agree with as he sends out the bombers for another napalm raid.

The slogan to "Bring the GI's Home from Vietnam Now!" contains, at one and the same time, the broadest popular appeal and the sharpest confrontation with the warmakers.

Antiwar Convention In D.C. Nov. 25-8

Delegates from the local committees to end the war in Vietnam are meeting in Washington over the Thanksgiving holidays to discuss establishing a national organization.

Each anti-Vietnam-war committee is entitled to two voting delegates for its first 100 members and one delegate for every additional 100 members or fraction thereof. Everyone who is against the war is invited to attend and participate.

For information on housing write: Washington Committee to End the War in Vietnam, P.O. Box 19249, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Joint Drive for New Readers Opened By The Militant and Young Socialist

By Dan Styron

A nation-wide subscription campaign has been launched by supporters of *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist* to introduce these two socialist publications to over 1700 new readers. The campaign will end December 15. For one dollar, readers can receive the *Young Socialist* for six months and *The Militant* for four.

The *Young Socialist* is a bi-monthly magazine written by socialist youth active in the civil rights and anti-war movements. Articles dealing with the revolution

tions in the Congo, Dominican Republic, and Vietnam, exclusive interviews with Isaac Deutscher and Malcolm X have appeared in past issues.

The weekly *Militant* gives news and analysis from a socialist viewpoint on the antiwar and civil rights movements, world revolutionary developments, the labor movement, and contains other features of interest to new and old radicals. To take advantage of this special combination offer, turn to the subscription blank on page 7.

Scoreboard

	Accepted Quota	Subs Received
Ann Arbor	75	44
Berkeley	175	2
Boston	250	2
Chicago	225	26
Cleveland	75	5
Denver	25	0
Detroit	125	15
Los Angeles	100	31
Philadelphia	75	17
Madison	25	27
New York (downtown)	200	87
New York (uptown)	125	58
San Francisco	50	6
San Jose	25	0
Twin Cities	25	0
Washington, D. C.	125	0
At Large	25	6
Totals	1,725	331

(Continued from Page 1) onstration of protest against the foreign policy of Washington, D.C., was forcibly asserted . . ."

Another development in the aftermath of the recent march may well have significance for the antiwar movement in breaking through on the labor front, and should serve as a sharp lesson to those labor leaders who find themselves in the company of the ultra right in their attacks on the antiwar demonstrators.

On Oct. 20 the VDC received a call from the Central Labor Council of Richmond, a city just north of Berkeley, seeking support for a strike in which the Hell's Angels and another motorcycle club called Hitler's American Sons were being used as strikebreakers. The company had been struck for the past 11 weeks by the Millmen's Local No. 550, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, AFL-CIO and had recently replaced the 27 striking employees with outside labor chiefly from the Hell's Angels and the Hitler's.

The call for aid from the VDC

An African Document:
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came the day union pickets had halted cars entering the plant and Hitler's member Dennis (Grub) Alexander, was badly beaten and sent to the hospital. Reprisals were anticipated.

The next morning the VDC responded to the call by sending 150 people to the picket line. The Richmond police then cordoned off the entire block and prevented the Hell's Angels and Hitler's from entering the struck plant. There were no incidents.

Union Business Agent Clyde L. Johnson publicly thanked the VDC for turning out and said: "This is the best picket line I've seen since the 1930's. I want to thank the various unions and the VDC that

came down today to help."

Johnson charged that the Richmond police had the day before opened up the picket lines to let the Hell's Angels in. He said the union was striking to "stop this company from paying Arkansas wages in California."

The company has three non-union plants, one of which is in Little Rock, Ark. and another in the Watts area of Los Angeles. Johnson said five members of the union had gone to the Watts plant to initiate a strike there. He said: "A Hell's Angel called one of our men on the picket line a 'nigger' and since our man was handy with his fists he sent the Angel to the hospital."

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THE MILITANT

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Monday, November 1, 1965

A Phony Argument on Vietnam

Washington war propagandists reached a new height of hypocrisy Oct. 18 when they announced that President Johnson was "disturbed" by the International Days of Protest because the demonstrations "undermined his efforts to end the war."

This argument was given a slicker presentation a day earlier in the *New York Times* by associate editor James Reston. "In Hanoi," Reston argued, ". . . there is a total misconception of American policy, and particularly, a powerful conviction among communist officials there that the antiwar demonstrations and editorials in the United States will force the American Government to give up the fight."

The North Vietnamese, Reston concluded, "reject negotiations the American Government has offered, and the demonstrators are protesting, not against the nation that is continuing the war but against their own country that is offering to make peace."

This argument contains two assumptions which are false. The first is that the civil war in South Vietnam, a revolution of the oppressed peasantry against the U.S.-supported minority which rules in Saigon, is really a war of aggression by North Vietnam.

The fact is there is only one foreign aggressor in Vietnam and that aggressor is the United States. It is U.S. troops, guns and bombs which are killing the Vietnamese people. It is U.S. troops, guns, and bombs which prop up the reactionary Saigon government, which even U.S. officials now admit would have collapsed long ago without U.S. support. It is the U.S. which is prolonging and deepening the war.

The second false assumption is that Washington is "offering to make peace." In the first place, Washington has no right to negotiate the affairs of the Vietnamese people. Secondly, the "negotiation" offer is as phoney as a nine dollar bill, a fig leaf which doesn't begin to cover the massive intensification of the war the U.S. is engaged in. Just what are these "offers of peace" — the daily bombing raids on the civilian population of South Vietnam and North Vietnam? The massive troop buildup?

The "peace" Johnson is "offering" is the "peace" that would come with the crushing of the Vietnamese people by U.S. military force. Any negotiations Washington would enter into would be based on U.S. military strength, and be dictated on Washington's terms. Washington wants a regime in South Vietnam composed of landlords and capitalists, with all opposition suppressed, subservient to Washington. It wants South Vietnam to be a military and political base for U.S. operations against the whole Asian revolution. This kind of "peace" would lead only to further war, and is not the peace the antiwar movement seeks. The movement wants a just peace, which can only be attained by the withdrawal of American troops and allowing the Vietnamese people to determine their own affairs. The International Days of Protest were aimed at the government "that is continuing the war" — the U.S. government.

What Johnson and the Restons fear, in spite of their protestations that it is a "total misconception" to believe that "the antiwar demonstrations . . . will force the American government to give up the fight," is the growing mass opposition to the war. They correctly fear that if the movement continues to grow, and becomes massive and powerful enough, it very well could "force the American government" to stop its dirty war in Vietnam.

There is another, more ominous note in the Johnson-Reston argument, and that is the implication that the best way to end the war is to get behind the U.S. war effort and bring Hanoi and the South Vietnamese revolutionaries to their knees and thus to the conference table. This argument has a deadly logic: if the object is to achieve "peace" in the shortest possible time through a U.S. military victory, then the best means to employ are maximum military force, including nuclear bombs. That was the argument Truman used, when he "mercifully shortened" World War II by murdering over 200,000 Japanese civilians at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Is Washington preparing public opinion for the "short cut" path to a U.S. victory and "peace" in Vietnam — nuclear bombing?

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2649, Denver 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE, 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 651, Main Post Office, Oakland 12, Calif. Phone 562-4667.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 8412.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Evergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St.

SAN FRANCISCO. Pioneer Bookstore and Militant Labor Forum, 1722 Page St. UN 3-2453. Open 2-5 p.m. Mon., Fri., and weekends.

SEATTLE. 3815 5th N.E. Library, book store. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

Malcolm X Speaks

The following is the next installment of the speech made by Malcolm X in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963:

Installment 2

WHAT IS A REVOLUTION?

I would like to make a few comments concerning the difference between the black revolution and the Negro revolution . . . First, what is a revolution? Sometimes I'm inclined to believe that many of our people are using this word "revolution" loosely, without taking careful consideration of what this word actually means, and what its historic characteristics are. When you study the historic nature of revolutions, the motive of a revolution, the objective of a revolution, the result of a revolution, and the methods used in a revolution, you may change words. You may devise another program, you may change your goal and you may change your mind.

Look at the American Revolution in 1776. That revolution was for what? For land. Why did they want land? Independence. How was it carried out? Bloodshed. Number one, it was based on land, the basis of independence. And the only way they could get it was bloodshed.

The French Revolution — what was it based on? The landless against the landlord. What was it for? Land. How did they get it? Bloodshed. Was no love lost, was no compromise, was no negotiation. I'm telling you — you don't know what a revolution is. Because when you find out what it is, you'll get back in the alley, you'll get out of the way.

Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution — what was it based on? Land; the landless against the landlord. How did they bring it about? Bloodshed. You haven't got a revolution that doesn't involve bloodshed. And you're afraid to bleed. I said, you're afraid to bleed.

As long as the white man sent you to Korea, you bled. He sent you to Germany, you bled. He sent you to the South Pacific to fight the Japanese, you bled. You bleed for white people, but when it comes to seeing your own churches being bombed and little black girls murdered, you haven't got any blood. You bleed when the white man says bleed; you bite when the white man says bite; and you bark when the white man says bark. I hate to say this about us, but it's true. How are you going to be nonviolent in Mississippi, as violent as you were in Korea? How can you justify being nonviolent in Mississippi and Alabama, when your churches are being bombed, and your little girls are being murdered, and at the same time you are going to get violent with Hitler, and Tojo, and somebody else you don't even know?

If violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it is wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and black babies and black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us and make us violent abroad in defense of her. And if it is right for America to draft us, and teach us how to be violent in defense of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country.

The Chinese Revolution — they wanted land. They threw the British out, along with the Uncle Tom Chinese. Yes, they did. They set a good example. When I was in prison, I read an article — don't be shocked when I say that I was in prison. You're still in prison. That's what America means: prison. When I was in prison, I read



Excerpted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Price \$5.95. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

an article in *Life* magazine showing a little Chinese girl, nine years old; her father was on his hands and knees and she was pulling the trigger because he was an Uncle Tom Chinaman.

When they had the revolution over there, they took a whole generation of Uncle Toms and just wiped them out. And within ten years that little girl became a full-grown woman. No more Toms in China. And today it's one of the toughest, roughest, most feared countries on this earth — by the white man. Because there are no Uncle Toms over there.

Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems, all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. Once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can get yours straight.

There's been a revolution, a black revolution, going on in Africa. In Kenya, the Mau Mau were revolutionary; they were the ones who brought the word "Uhuru" to the fore. The Mau Mau, they were revolutionary, they believed in scorched earth, they knocked everything aside that got in their way, and their revolution also was based on land, a desire for land.

In Algeria, the northern part of Africa, a revolution took place. The Algerians were revolutionists, they wanted land. France offered to let them be integrated into France. They told France, to hell with France, they wanted some land, not some France. And they engaged in a bloody battle.

So I cite these various revolutions, brothers and sisters, to show you that you don't have a peaceful revolution. You don't have a turn-the-other-cheek revolution. There's no such thing as a nonviolent revolution. The only kind of revolution that is nonviolent is the Negro revolution. The only revolution in which the goal is loving your enemy is the Negro revolution. It's the only rev-

olution in which the goal is a desegregated lunch counter, a desegregated theater, a desegregated park, and a desegregated public toilet; you can sit down next to white folks — on the toilet.

That's no revolution. Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality.

The white man knows what a revolution is. He knows that the black revolution is world-wide in scope and in nature. The black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution — that's a revolution. They overturned the system. Revolution is in Asia, revolution is in Africa, and the white man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America. How do you think he'll react to you when you learn what a real revolution is? You don't know what a revolution is. If you did, you wouldn't use that word.

Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overthrows and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, "I'm going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me." No, you need a revolution. Who ever heard of a revolution where they lock arms, singing "We Shall Overcome"? You don't do that in a revolution. You don't do any singing, you're too busy swinging. It's based on land. A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation. These Negroes aren't asking for any nation — they're trying to crawl back on the plantation.

When you want a nation, that's called nationalism. When the white man became involved in a revolution in this country against England, what was it for? He wanted this land so he could set up another white nation. That's white nationalism. The French Revolution was white nationalism. The Russian Revolution too — yes, it was — white nationalism. You don't think so? Why do you think Khrushchev and Mao can't get their heads together? White nationalism. All the revolutions that are going on in Asia and Africa today are based on what? — black nationalism.

A revolutionary is a black nationalist. He wants a nation. I was reading some beautiful words by Rev. Cleage, pointing out why he couldn't get together with someone else in the city because all of them were afraid of being identified with black nationalism. If you're afraid of black nationalism, you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love black nationalism.

Next week: The house Negro and the field Negro.

Marxism and The Negro Struggle

Articles by:

Harold Cruse
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50c

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Letter to National Guardian

Facts on Hugo Blanco

[The following letter was sent to the *National Guardian* by Pierre Frank, publisher of the international labor press service, *World Outlook*. The letter corrects distortions about the role of Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco, which appeared in an article by Cedric Belfrage in the July 31 *National Guardian*. A copy of the letter was sent to *The Militant*.]

[The editors of the *National Guardian* have recently informed us that they do not intend to print Mr. Frank's letter or any other correction of Mr. Belfrage's article, and we are therefore printing the letter below for the information of our readers.]

Paris, France

Dear Mr. Aronson,
In Cedric Belfrage's otherwise excellent article on the outbreak of guerrilla warfare in Peru (*National Guardian*, July 31), there are two references to the Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco which seem to be based on misinformation and which we are sure you will want to correct.

"In 1959," the article states, "Hugo Blanco, an intellectual inspired by Trotsky and Fidel Castro, learned Quechua and began organizing resistance in the Convención Valley near Cuzco, but gave himself up to the police in 1963."

Further on, the conduct of Luis de la Puente Uceda, one of the three guerrilla leaders currently in the resistance movement, is stated to be in "contrast to the mystery in which predecessor Blanco clothed his actions . . ."

Hugo Blanco was an agricultural student in Buenos Aires when, inspired by the Cuban Revolution, he decided to return home to Peru to participate in the peasant struggles. Practical experience led him to conclude that while much could be learned from the Cuban example, it could not be mechanically dupli-

cated in Peru. Adjusting his tactics to the inclinations of the peasants themselves, among whom he was very popular, he took the lead in organizing unions. These defended the daily interests of the peasants — much like the Peasant League organized by Francisco Julião in Brazil — and engaged, where conditions were favorable, in "recuperating" land from big landholders. This led to armed conflicts in which Blanco was pictured in the press as a "guerrilla" leader although he actually headed a federation of some 10,000 members whose struggles were mainly on the economic front.

The Peruvian government mounted a repressive operation like the one now directed against Luis de la Puente, Guillermo Lobatón and Gonzalo Fernández Gasco. Hugo Blanco was captured on May 30, 1963, when, desperately ill, he was brought by his followers down out of the mountains in search of clandestine medical treatment. Blanco did not give himself up any more than Castro did after the affair at the Moncada barracks. At the time, the press reported that Blanco was charged with "responsibility" for the death of "five rural policemen" killed during skirmishes with the land-hungry peasants.

As for the "mystery" in which "Blanco clothed his actions . . ." Che Guevara had this to say in an interview given in Algiers, July 23, 1963, published in the August 3 issue of *El Moudjahid*: "Hugo Blanco is the head of one of the guerrilla movements in Peru. He struggled stubbornly but the repression was strong. I don't know what his tactics of struggle were, but his fall does not signify the end of the movement. It is only a man that has fallen, but the movement continues. One time, when we were preparing to make our landing from the *Granma*, and when there was great risk that

all of us would be killed, Fidel said: 'What is more important than us is the example we set.' It's the same thing. Hugo Blanco has set an example, a good example, and he struggled as much as he could. But he suffered a defeat, the popular forces suffered a defeat. It's only a passing stage. Afterward will come another stage."

Guevara's tribute was not without more immediate reason than reference to the general example set by Hugo Blanco. At the end of October 1962 during the Caribbean crisis, Hugo Blanco, as a demonstration of solidarity in behalf of the Cuban Revolution, led a march of 5,000 peasants from villages in the Andes into Cuzco. They occupied the city for several hours before withdrawing. The action received due publicity in Peru at the time.

Readers of the *National Guardian* will undoubtedly be interested in the way Peruvians look at Hugo Blanco. Last year Hugo Neira, who is on the staff of the Lima daily *Expreso*, published a book of reportage (*Cuzco: Tierra y Muerte*) on the peasant movement that swept the Cuzco area from December 1963 to March 1964. This began, Neira states, when "the city of Quillabamba was taken by unions carrying out an order to go on strike issued in Cuzco by the Federation in order to win the release of imprisoned union leaders, among them, Hugo Blanco."

Neira travelled throughout the region, making a first-hand investigation of this novel turn in Peru's peasant movement. (The movement was put down by a massive "operation" of the government's armed forces in which hundreds of arrests were made, including the entire leadership of the peasant federation.) Among other things, Neira indicates the imprisoned Hugo Blanco's role:

"Fought by the right, his image



FREEDOM FIGHTERS. Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco (center) and fellow fighters photographed in mountains before his capture by government police.

distorted by prestige due to erroneous reports about him being a guerrilla fighter, injured by the silence, if not sabotage, of the traditional, bureaucratic groups of Communism, extolled by the FIR (Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario), feared and hated by the unorganized yanaconas and the hacendados, admired by the union ranks, Hugo Blanco looms over the whole South.

"This is the straight truth, without falsification, of what this man, who is a prisoner today in Arequipa, means to the peasant masses . . . 'We owe him everything,' say the peasants. In fact every change in Convención and elsewhere in the country, was accelerated due to the danger they saw in the peasants having no hope other than hope in the revolutionary unionism of Blanco.

'Our Chief'

"Devotion to Blanco is total; they don't dare bring him to trial. I am referring to the unionized peasants. 'He is our chief,' they say . . . And in every peasant's home there is an empty bed. It's the one that was waiting hopefully for the leader when he was going around the region organizing or when he was passing during the night, under the stars, fleeing from the police . . ."

At the moment, the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario), as Mr. Belfrage reports, is leading a guerrilla struggle, which the government is trying to suppress, as in previous operations, with napalm and bombs. The guerrilla fighters undoubtedly enjoy wide sympathy in Peru, although the tactical wisdom of the initiative taken by the MIR and the attitude of the other sectors on this is not yet clear. Neira had the following to say in his book concerning the leadership of the peasant movement:

"For the moment no party as yet holds a monopoly on this net-

work of realities. The leaders come from various groups. It seems that those with the most weight are from the FIR, the MIR, Trotskyist people. But there are also peasant leaders of great capacity linked to the PCP (the Peruvian Communist Party) . . ."

All of these groups, as well as the unions, student organizations and broad intellectual circles are at present the target of a massive nation-wide witchhunt mounted by the Belaunde government in conjunction with its effort to stamp out the guerrilla movement. Fresh fears have been expressed for Hugo Blanco's life in view of the announcement by the Peruvian Minister of the Interior July 4 (as reported in the Paris *Le Monde* July 6) that the operation of the armed forces was aimed "at eliminating subversive extremism once and for all" and that instructions had been given to the army "to give no quarter and not to capture any heroes."

It would seem that the Peruvian authorities now regret not having summarily dispatched Hugo Blanco and that they have decided not to repeat the "error." That they may well take advantage of the current antiguerilla operation to do away with Hugo Blanco is obvious.

A word should also be said for Hugo Blanco's sister Luchi. According to a February 11, 1964, *Prensa Latina* dispatch from Lima, she was arrested among hundreds of others when 8,000 peasants engaged in land seizures at Sicuana, during which 17 were killed by government forces. Of those arrested, 18, including Luchi, "were sent to the grim Sepa prison in the Loreto Department in the Amazon jungle," *Prensa Latina* reported. No further word has been received as to her fate or that of the seventeen others.

Sincerely,
Pierre Frank

World Events

China Won't Attend Parley

The Peking delegate has announced his government will not take part in the "Second Bandung" Afro-Asian conference, slated to open in Algiers Nov. 5. The decision came after the conference's preparatory committee decided to invite the Soviet Union to attend in spite of Chinese objections.

A bitter irony is contained in this development. Last June the Chinese bureaucracy — in its eagerness to gain its narrow purpose of excluding the delegates of the Soviet bureaucracy from the conference — committed an act of the crassest opportunism. They gave immediate recognition to the militarist coup of Boumedienne in Algeria. Thus the Maoists lent approval, in the name of the Chinese revolution, to a major setback for the Algerian revolutionary cause.

The irony is that now they don't even have a paltry, pettifogging diplomatic "success" to show for their colossal infringement of revolutionary principles.

Labor Party Colonialism

The British Labor government is following a colonial policy lifted right from the Tory book, with not one comma altered. A perfect example is the case of Aden.

On Sept. 25 the British suspended Aden's constitutional government, dismissed Chief Minister Abdul Qawee Mackawee, and turned Aden formally back into a British Crown Colony ruled directly by High Commissioner Sir Richard Turnbull. Their reason for this was that the majority of Adenites opposed a British plan to

bind Aden indefinitely to a British-controlled "South Arabian Federation."

The reaction to this return to open imperialist rule was immediate. The Aden National Liberation Front called for a 24-hour general strike. The Trades Union Congress supported the call. On Oct. 2 tools were downed in the colony. Demonstrations broke out and violence flared between British troops and the masses.

In reprisal, the British jailed hundreds and deported others by the hundreds. Troops and naval reinforcements were rushed in. Thus, under the chairmanship of Labor, the British overlords have entered a period of violent conflict with a colonized people.

Belgian Socialists Merge

Three hundred and fifty delegates, representing all the main cities and industrial areas of Belgium, met in Liège Oct. 10 at the founding congress of the Socialist Workers Confederation. They represented three organizations — the Walloon Workers Party, the Left Socialist Movement of Brussels, and the Flemish Socialist Movement — which have decided to unite their forces in the struggle for a socialist Belgium on a federal basis that would grant self-determination to the two nationalities in the country.

Vote Shakes Brazil Regime

The Oct. 3 elections in Brazil, which were carefully staged by the Castelo Branco dictatorship to put a coat of democratic paint on the regime, ended in a disappointment for the generals running the country. Although all candidates whose public image

even smacked of liberalism were barred from running, the vote ran heavily in favor of those candidates permitted to run who had even the slightest "opposition" flavor. The results were considered proof of complete public repudiation of the regime.

Army circles met to consider rolling out tanks and canceling the verdict of the polls. Cooler heads prevailed, however, and it was announced that victorious candidates for governorships in some key states would be allowed to take office.

Radical Anti-War Protest

The Oct. 16 "International Days of Protest" demonstration in Brussels against the Vietnam war was backed by a number of organizations: the Socialist Workers Confederation, the Brussels railway workers union, the gas and electricity workers union, the teachers union, the Committee for Struggle against Neocolonialism and Fascism, the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes, the Communist Youth, the Socialist Students, the Communist Students, and the Committee for the Antinuclear Demonstration.

The Khrushchev Communist party, which participated in the demonstration, wanted to give it a mere pacifist orientation. However, the organizing committee, mainly under the influence of militants of the Socialist Workers Confederation, adopted a radical line and slogans to clearly express solidarity with the opponents of the Vietnam war within the United States and with the Vietnamese revolution itself.

—George Saunders

500 Rally in Front of U. S. Consulate In Vancouver to Assail Vietnam War

VANCOUVER, Canada — On Oct. 16, 500 people joined the International Days of Protest in a demonstration at the U.S. consulate in Vancouver. The protest began at the Court House where the crowd stood in pouring rain to hear Professors Foulks and Wilmott of the University of British Columbia speak against the war in Vietnam. They then marched to the consulate with picket signs demanding "U.S. get out of Vietnam" and "End the War."

The demonstrators presented a petition to the Vice Consul which summed up their demands. "We demand that the United States stop escalating the war in Vietnam, that is: 1) Stop bombing South Vietnam; 2) Stop bombing North Vietnam; 3) Stop flights over mainland China. We demand that all foreign governments abide

by the Geneva agreements. For the American government specifically this will mean: 1) the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam; 2) the dismantling of American military bases in South Vietnam."

The demonstration reflected the growth of the antiwar movement in British Columbia this fall. The University saw its first teach-in Oct. 9 to 11. Linus Pauling, speaking on "Why the War in Vietnam Must Be Stopped" drew 2,000 on Oct. 9. Candidates of the Liberal and Conservative parties, campaigning for the Nov. 8 federal election, are faced with hecklers and picketers demanding "End Canadian Support of U.S. War in Vietnam." The candidates of the New Democratic Party, the party of the Canadian trade union movement, are coming out strongly against the war and making it an election issue.

DIED FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS**Albert Parsons — Labor Martyr**

By Harriet Talan

Albert Parsons was born June 24, 1848, and was hanged Nov. 11, 1887 — a martyr in the cause of human emancipation and uncompromising opposition to capitalism. He was one of the leading labor and socialist figures in the years following the Civil War.

Parsons' ancestry could be traced back to the second landing of the Mayflower and to relatives who fought in the American Revolution. His parents moved from the North to Alabama where he was born and raised. At the age of 13, since everyone was doing it and it seemed the right thing to do, Parsons joined the Confederate Army. But by the end of the Civil War he had incurred the wrath of his neighbors and officers for his opposition to slavery and for his advocacy of real equality for Negroes.

Parsons moved to Texas where he became a printer and eventually founded and edited his own newspaper, the *Waco Spectator*. After a while his paper began to lose support because of its "scalawag" politics. He was an active advocate of the Reconstruction measures taken by the national government to destroy the economic power of the plantation owners.

A Republican

Because of his Republican affiliations, Parsons was granted a series of minor government posts, such as chief deputy collector. On one of his business trips through Texas he met and later married Lucy Parsons, a young Spanish-Indian woman who is said to have also been of Negro extraction. Lucy Parsons became his close colleague. She continued to devote her energies after his death to the struggle for human emancipation, and became a well-known figure in the labor movement at the turn of the century. She was a founder of the Industrial Workers of the World.

In 1873 Parsons moved to Chicago where he immediately joined a typographical union. Before long he was holding posts in a number of labor organizations and helped to found the first branch of the Knights of Labor in that city.

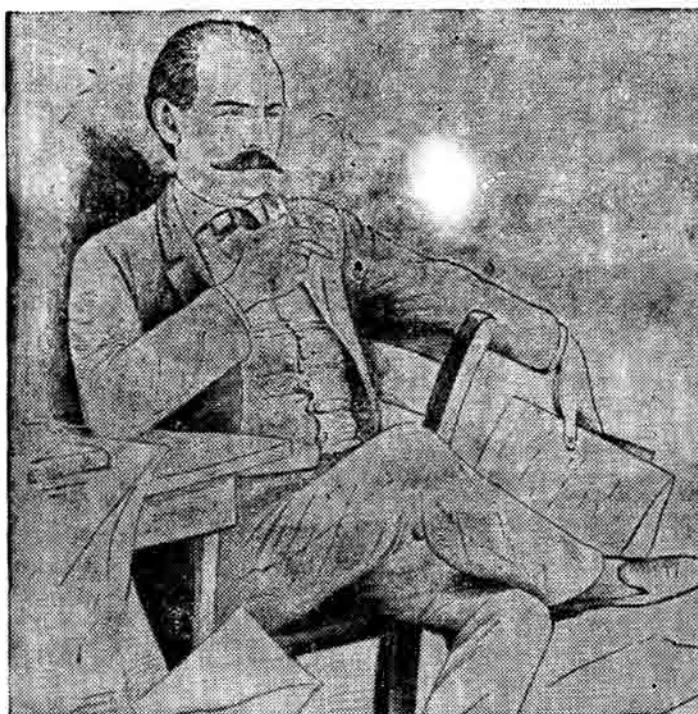
His interest in economic problems led him to read and study socialist literature and by 1876 he was an ardent socialist. He then joined the Social Democratic Party which merged in 1876 with other groups to become the Working men's Party.

During the great Railroad Strike of 1877, Parsons addressed the strikers, explaining the purpose and program of his party — to use the ballot for gaining control of production. Because of his speech to the strikers, he lost his job on the *Times* and was blacklisted for two years in the printing trade. The chief of police advised him to get out of town if he did not want to get "strung up." "You ought to know better than to come up here from Texas and incite the working people to insurrection."

Labor Organizer

Parsons did not leave town but continued his activity as a labor organizer. He became a popular orator and a leading socialist. In 1879 he had won the reputation as an aggressive leader of the eight-hour movement and accepted the post of secretary of the Eight-Hour League of Chicago.

Parsons, discouraged with and critical of the results and efforts at the ballot box, turned to direct trade union action. In 1881 he joined the left wing of the American section of the anarchist international. When in 1884 the International began publishing an English language newspaper called the *Alarm*, he became editor. Parsons was very polished and eloquent in his writing and in his speaking.



Albert Parsons

The year 1886 found the eight-hour movement at its height, especially in Chicago. Strikes were frequent. In May of that revolutionary year there occurred the events of the famous Haymarket Massacre. Brutal attacks on strikers by the employers and their police led to protest meetings. At a May 4 protest meeting where Parsons had been one of the speakers, a bomb was hurled by someone whose identity has never been conclusively proven.

The employers and their henchmen, the police, press, courts, etc., used the bombing as an opportunity to viciously attack the labor and radical movements. Parsons along with seven other innocent men were charged with the crime and were placed on trial for their ideas.

Arrest Warrant

While a warrant was out for his arrest, Parsons went into hiding. However, when the trial day arrived, Parsons entered the courtroom and gave himself up saying, "I do not expect to leave this place alive. But I could not bear to be at liberty knowing that my comrades were here and were to suffer for something of which they were as innocent as I."

In early October the condemned men were allowed a final speech and the accused became the accusers. Parsons spoke for a total of eight hours. Speaking beyond the courtroom, he described the

meaning of capitalism and traced the struggle against it.

In this final address he said, "I am a socialist. I am one of those, although myself a wage slave, who holds that it is wrong — wrong to myself, wrong to my neighbor, and unjust to my fellow man — for me to undertake to make my escape from wage slavery by becoming a master and an owner of other's labor.

"My Crime"

"This is my crime. I have been false, I have been untrue. I have been a traitor to the infamies that exist today in capitalist society. If this is a crime in your opinion then I plead guilty to it.

"Neither I nor my colleagues here have violated any legal right of American citizens. We stand upon the right of free speech, of free press, of public assemblage, unmolested and undisturbed. We stand for the constitutional right of self-defense, and we defy the prosecution to rob the people of America of these dearly bought rights.

"Do you think, gentlemen of the prosecution, that you have settled the case when you are carrying my lifeless bones to potter's field? The American people will have something to say as to whether or not the constitution of this country can be trampled underfoot at the dictation of monopoly and corporations and their hired tools."

[The leadership of the Cuban revolution has been acutely aware of the dangers of bureaucratism and dogmatic thinking and have fought energetically to combat them. One example of this is a speech delivered by Fidel Castro at the University of Havana on March 13, 1962.

[He was participating in a ceremony commemorating the anniversary of the 1957 student attack on the palace of dictator Batista, in which student leader José Antonio Echevarría and others were killed.

[A student read a testament written by Echevarría just before the attack and in reading it, deleted a part in which Echevarría expressed his belief in God. Fidel put aside his prepared remarks and delivered a slashing attack on this falsification of history.

[The full speech is published by Pioneer Publishers, Five East Third St., New York City, under the title, *The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought* (20c). The following are excerpts.]

Compañeros, could we be so cowardly, and could we be so intellectually warped, as to come here to read the political testament of José Antonio Echevarría and be so cowardly, so morally wretched, as to suppress these lines? Just because these three lines are an idiomatic expression of José Antonio Echevarría's way of thinking which we have no business analyzing?

Are we going to mutilate what he wrote? Are we going to mutilate what he believed? And are we going to feel crushed merely by what he believed or thought in the matter of religion? What kind of faith is that in one's own ideas? What concept is that of history? And how can history be conceived in such a wretched manner? . . .

Could such cowardice be called a dialectical concept of history? Could such a manner of thinking be called Marxism? Could such a fraud be called socialism? Could such a deception be called communism? No! . . .

How can we face our enemies

Questions and Answers About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and capitalism. If you have a question you would like to see taken up in this column, please send it in. Comments and criticism are welcome.]

Socialists claim that the United States is an imperialist power which goes to war for economic reasons. But the war in Vietnam is costing the government much more than the profits American businesses get from their investments in South Vietnam. So why doesn't the government get out of Vietnam?

Revolutionary socialists do hold the view that American big business — like every other ruling class — is motivated fundamentally by its economic interests, and that the government acts in the interests of the big capitalists.

In this late stage of the evolution of capitalism in the U.S., many of the largest corporations have enormous investments in foreign countries. Total U.S. owned assets in the rest of the world — including American owned businesses, stocks, bonds, and loans — amount to nearly \$100 billion now. And private investment is growing rapidly, at the rate of about \$6 billion a year.

Foreign investment plays a very important role in maintaining domestic prosperity for American business, since it provides an outlet for the investment of profits that are continuously accumulated by the capitalist. If profits are not invested, a recession results.

There are other advantages for the capitalists in foreign investment — much higher profit rates, cheap prices for raw materials, etc. The important conclusion is that American business has vital interests in maintaining and expanding its foreign investments. Nothing can eliminate its long-run need for expanding foreign investments except the end of capitalism itself.

One of the main requirements for expanding foreign investments is political stability — of a certain type. Businessmen need to be assured that their investments won't be expropriated wholesale and that countries will remain relatively open to foreign investment. American companies can put up with having some of their holdings nationalized — especially if the investments are no longer very profitable, and the compensation is generous. But wholesale nationalizations and the permanent end of a "favorable climate" for foreign investments — such as occur-

curred in Russia, China, Cuba, etc. — is in essence a blow at the very existence of capitalism everywhere.

The U.S. is so economically powerful that it can force any of the weaker (and some of the not-so-weak capitalist nations) to allow it to invest. The only way these nations can break from the economic domination of the U.S. and other imperialist countries is by making a socialist revolution and nationalizing and planning their economies.

Every successful social revolution stimulates other such revolutions — mainly by the power of example.

There is no doubt that American withdrawal from Vietnam would be followed by a social revolution in South Vietnam. Such a successful revolution against American imperialism would serve as a powerful spur to revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial nations throughout the world — in Latin America and Africa as well as in Southeast Asia. Conversely, a defeat for the revolution in South Vietnam would demoralize and set back people struggling for national independence, land reform, and social revolution all over the world.

The U.S. government has another important direct interest in Vietnam. It has turned South Vietnam into an enormous American military base. It has constructed more than 50 air bases in the small country, and began this build-up long before Johnson's escalation of the war. South Vietnam has been made into America's military base for counter-revolution throughout Southeast Asia.

So the stakes for American capitalism in Vietnam are much higher than merely its current investments and profits in South Vietnam. The capitalists take a worldwide and long-run views of the socialist revolution — as do revolutionary socialists.

That does not mean that the U.S. government will never withdraw. The "costs" of the war can get too high and force a withdrawal. The most expensive "cost" of the war is the loss of support for and growing opposition to the policy of the government at home — rather than the cost in dollars.

—Herman Porter

Castro on Falsification of History

with integrity while playing such tricks? . . .

Into what is the revolution changed by this? Into a tyranny! And that is not a revolution! Into what is the revolution changed? Into a school of docile spirits! And that is not the revolution! The revolution must be a school of revolutionists! The revolution must be a school of courageous men! The revolution must be a school of unfettered thought!

The revolution must be a forger of character and of men. The revolution must above all be faith in one's own ideas . . . The revolution has to teach men to study, to think, to analyze in order to possess profound conviction, so profound that there will be no need to have recourse to such tricks . . .

Well, we have certain problems. Salaries have increased. More than satisfactory salaries have been paid to those in certain categories of technical work. But can it be called evidence of revolutionary spirit in the young men who are now in the secondary schools . . . who will soon be in the universi-

sities and later, still young, perhaps only 20 or 22 years old and having already finished training as specialists . . . and who, perhaps, marry girls who studied, specialized and graduated with them — is it evidence of revolutionary spirit for these couples to earn \$1,600 pesos a month between them?

Is that revolutionary spirit? That is all right for those who have already graduated, including those who are already specializing in the universities. But in all of this generation, in all these 60,000 holders of scholarships, are we or are we not going to create a truly revolutionary attitude, a higher attitude, a more generous and more revolutionary attitude toward life?

These are matters which truly worry us, and they are matters which we should sincerely begin to put into effect. And we should work to create a new society, a new generation without privileges, free of anti-social individualism . . .

No privileges should be forthcoming! War against privilege!

Socialist Campaign Letters

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Really Impressed

New York, N.Y.
Dear Mrs. Garza,
I heard you speak on Channel 4 Sunday at 11 a.m.
You were the only one who made sense.
I have enclosed \$50.
Thank you for a refreshing, honest presentation.
A.H.

Much Impressed

Croydon, Pa.
A few nights ago, we heard two of your representatives on the radio and were very much impressed with what they had to say. We would like to have more information and literature on the Party, and were informed by them we could do so by writing to you. Thank you.

Mr. and Mrs. K.R.

Interested in Socialism

Bronx, N.Y.
I am interested in the Socialist Workers movement. I would appreciate it very much if you could send me any information on your organization and the upcoming election.

Could you please tell me the difference between your party and the Socialist Labor Party of Mr. Haas.

It Was Reported in the Press

Our Free-World Partner — A New York Times dispatch from the seaside town of Bannethuot in South Vietnam, offers this bit of a picture of South Vietnamese government troops: "Instead of fleecing tourists as in the old days, the Vietnamese people are instead being fleeced by their own marines and paratroopers, who sally in from the fields for periodic rampages. The troops have taken to supplementing their salaries by stealing from stores, helping themselves . . . in restaurants and bars and then refusing to pay or simply breaking into houses and robbing the occupants at gunpoint."

Be It Ever So Humble — The Senate voted to appropriate \$1 million to build an official residence for the Vice President.

Poverty Cripes — The Associated Press reported that the U.S. Public Health Service has established that arthritis cripples more people in low-income families than in other groups.

Pollution — Industry is now regarded as responsible for two-thirds of the pollution pouring into the nation's waterways. By 1970, it is estimated, industrial organic liquid waste will be fouling the water to the same extent as all our sewage systems combined. But Joseph Shaw, a spokesman for New York industries, is opposed to federal regulations to curb pollution. He advises instead: "Industry should propose a crash program to get rid of the visible evidence of pollution. If the visible evidences are removed the public notices."

News of the Week — A headline in the New York Times disclosed: "Rockefeller Disagrees With Vietnam Protest."

Notes to Anti-Semites — Contrary to the legend that Jews dominate banking and industry, an American Jewish Committee sur-

I do not completely agree with Mr. DeBerry's stand on Vietnam and Cuba, but I do support many of the Socialist reforms.

I would appreciate it if you could send me any campaign stickers and buttons also. Thank you very much.

C.G.

Disagrees on Vietnam

Brooklyn, N.Y.
I was really impressed, listening to you on TV.

Although I disagree with you on the government's policy on Vietnam, the idea of making \$3 an hour minimum wage available to the working class, would really be a miraculous achievement. Would you please send me a copy of The Militant? Thank you.

B.M.

Wants to Participate

Brooklyn, N.Y.
Please send a free sample copy of The Militant — the weekly newspaper standing for the program of the Socialist Workers Party. Socialism is the only way to better living. I am very interested in socialism and would like to participate in campaign activities.

S.R.

Learned Lesson

Brooklyn, N.Y.
Although I am a senior in high school and therefore cannot vote, I would like to do all I can to help your campaign. I have learned through sad experience in the last election that to work for candidates such a Ryan or Lindsay is to work for capitalism and all the

School Assignment

Bronx, N.Y.
I would appreciate very much if you would send me a few pieces of your literature as I am doing a report about third parties in the New York mayoralty race.

I am also interested in Mr. DeBerry and I was wondering if you could also send me a DeBerry for Mayor button.

C.P.

My feeling is that a person in your position should be better equipped factually before attempting public statements. From my knowledge of hearing scholastic speakers in public, I beg to conclude by saying these speakers, all of them, evade the truth.

Obviously I cannot give you my name or address.

Blank

Wants to March

Bronx, N.Y.
I just heard the program on Channel 13 "Who Speaks for New York" — very interesting. Please send me your information material, also about the march against war in Vietnam.

Mrs. H.K.

Liked Speech by Camejo

New York, N.Y.
I was very impressed with the speech of your party's candidate for Council President on Channel 13 last night. May I please have

Thought for the Week

"While air power is so vital to the U.S. war effort in Vietnam, there is a feeling in some quarters here that indiscriminate use of this power could jeopardize the political war. Air raids have been stepped up perceptibly in recent weeks, with often a couple of hundred sorties a day by fighter bombers carrying high explosives and napalm. At the same time Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge seeks to win the minds of the people . . . a difficult task made harder by the fact that some of these people may be the innocent victims of the bombing raids." — Dispatch to the Oct. 27 New York Herald Tribune.

A UNIQUE COMBINATION

For a limited time, THE MILITANT and the YOUNG SOCIALIST are offering a special joint combination offer. For only \$1 new readers may obtain a four-month subscription to THE MILITANT, which is published weekly, and a six-month subscription to the YOUNG SOCIALIST, a magazine which appears every other month.

SEND YOUR DOLLAR AND THIS COUPON TO P.O. BOX 471, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

NAME

STREET

CITY

STATE

ZIP

literature on your party's platform in this election for mayor.

S.M.

D.C. Listener

Washington, D.C.

I have recently observed a number of debates on Vietnam in which members of your group took part. This includes the radio debate last night on WCAU.

I'm much impressed with your viewpoint. Please send further information.

M.D.

Interested in Vietnam Stand

Flushing, N.Y.

I heard Clifton De Berry speak on television. He suggested writing to The Militant for a copy of his editorial on the war in Vietnam. Would you kindly send a copy to me at the above address.

J.S.

Jersey Booster

Red Bank, N.J.

Being a resident of New Jersey, there isn't much I can do to help the New York campaign (I intend to distribute literature for the Newark group), but I can throw in a few bucks. Enclosed is a check for \$3.

A.S.

Orders Buttons

Philadelphia, Pa.

Please send 100 "Vote for SWP and End the War in Vietnam" buttons. Enclosed is a check for \$8. Thank you.

D.S.

Possible Subscriber

Ansonia, Conn.

Please send a copy of The Militant along with a subscription form to me.

T.B.

Wants Vietnam Statement

Orangeburg, N.Y.

On a broadcast by Mr. Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor yesterday, he said that you have available copies of an editorial on Vietnam he wrote in your last edition. I would appreciate it if you could send me a copy of this editorial. Thank you.

H.A.O.

Thought for the Week

"While air power is so vital to the U.S. war effort in Vietnam, there is a feeling in some quarters here that indiscriminate use of this power could jeopardize the political war. Air raids have been stepped up perceptibly in recent weeks, with often a couple of hundred sorties a day by fighter bombers carrying high explosives and napalm. At the same time Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge seeks to win the minds of the people . . . a difficult task made harder by the fact that some of these people may be the innocent victims of the bombing raids." — Dispatch to the Oct. 27 New York Herald Tribune.

Young Socialists Speak Against War in Vietnam

Two leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance are presently conducting speaking tours across the country in an effort to help build the anti-Vietnam-war movement. Mary Alice Styron started her tour in the Midwest, and will wind up in November on the East Coast. Peter Camejo is speaking on the West Coast.

Beginning in Minneapolis on Oct. 14, Mary Alice Styron spoke at Carleton College, the University of Wisconsin, and Illinois Teacher's College. She spoke to a street meeting of 200 while in Minneapolis, and to the teach-in at the University of Minnesota during the International Days of Protest.

Both are speaking on "A Hidden Chapter in the Fight Against War," the story of the going-home movement among U.S. troops at the end of World War II, its significance to the colonial revolution and relevance to the current struggle against the Vietnam war.

Besides Minneapolis, Madison and Chicago, Mary Alice Styron will be speaking in Detroit, Ann Arbor, Cleveland, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington and New York. While in Detroit, she will be participating in a panel discussion with Alvin Harrison of the Northern Student Movement and John Hawksley of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam on "Where is the Antiwar Movement Headed?" She spoke on the same topic in a panel at Roosevelt University in Chicago.



Mary Alice Styron

with Paul Booth, National Secretary of SDS, and Earl Silbar, Regional Coordinator of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Mary Alice Styron, 23, is a graduate of Carleton College. Until recently, she was active in the Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley. Peter Camejo, 25, former national secretary of the YSA, is scheduled to be in Los Angeles Oct. 25. Both are members of the YSA national committee.

New Support in Deportation Case

Students Like Other Johnson

By Paul Eidsvik

MINNEAPOLIS — Interest in the case of Joe Johnson, a Minneapolis socialist threatened with deportation, reached a new high here this week as the fourth and final of the present series of Immigration Service hearings was held. Nearly every major Twin Cities radio and television station carried stories on the case and over thirty supporters of Johnson attended the final hearing to show their support.

Johnson, who is the Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, has been charged by the Immigration Service with being a "stateless" person and has been ordered to show cause why he shouldn't be deported to some as yet unnamed country. As a young man repelled by American militarism and racism he lived in Canada for six years, where he became a socialist. He returned to the U.S. in 1959 when he learned he was wanted for draft evasion, and subsequently served a two year federal prison sentence on that charge. After his release he joined and became active in the Socialist Workers Party, twice running for public office.

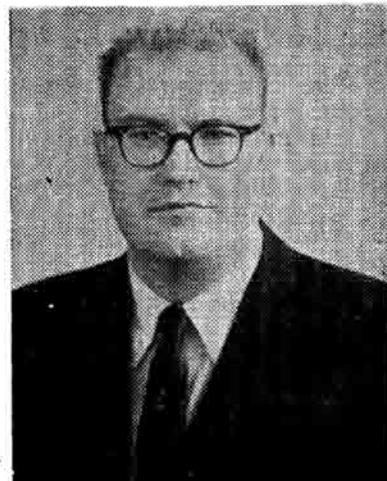
The government now claims that he lost his American citizenship by participating in Canadian elections and is subject to deportation. The defense has pointed mainly to the constitutional aspects of the case, pointing out that citizenship is the right basic to all other rights and therefore inviolable.

At a well attended news conference held October 18, Johnson and Douglas Hall, local defense attorney, explained the case and supported the work of the defense committee, The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson. When asked by reporters why this case had been kept in the public eye for over a year now, Hall commended the defense committee efforts and de-

fended its right to make the case as well known as possible. He pointed out that loss of citizenship amounts to capital punishment and is way out of proportion to whatever offense Johnson may have committed. Excerpts from this statement were carried widely on area news programs that evening.

Johnson has also received support from the growing antiwar movement. He spoke as the representative of the Socialist Workers Party at a University of Minnesota teach-in sponsored by the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Applause greeted his introduction as a man who had already had his troubles with the Selective Service System and was in addition threatened with deportation. One of the most widely applauded statements at the teach-in was a quip by the next speaker, Fred Stover of the U.S. Farmers Association, that "there sure is a lot of difference between the Minnesota Johnson and the Texas Johnson."

A series of campus speaking engagements by Johnson about his



Joseph Johnson

JUSTICE TRAMPLED ON AGAIN

King May Lead Liuzzo March

By Herman Porter

OCT. 26 — The acquittal of Klansman Collie LeRoy Wilkins Jr. in his second trial for the murder of civil rights worker Mrs. Viola Liuzzo is an outrageous crime, encouraging further murders of black people and civil rights workers in the South.

Rev. Martin Luther King said yesterday, "There is a possibility that we will have large marches from all over the Black Belt of Alabama on the court at Lowndes County." There will be a campaign to make the murder of civil rights workers a federal offense, he indicated.

The method of selecting a jury in Alabama — and the rest of the South — made certain that Wilkins would not be punished. Six men on the jury said that they believed in the superiority of the white race; two were members of the White Citizens Council, and six were former members; four said they believed civil rights workers were inferior persons. Yet a four-judge panel of the Alabama Supreme Court turned down the prosecutor's request that eleven prospective jurors be disqualified for prejudice against civil rights workers.

The Liuzzo murder is one in a long list of unpunished murders of Negroes and civil rights workers in Alabama. But this outrageous miscarriage of justice in finding Wilkins not guilty was committed while world attention was focused on the case. It was committed after the hypocritical declarations



Rev. M. L. King

of President Johnson and the passage of the voting bill gave many the illusion that the federal government would act against at least the grossest violations of civil rights in the South. But the federal government did nothing to see that the murderer was punished.

The federal government has the power to punish murder of civil rights workers — if it wanted to — without any new laws. It could arrest and try all the murderers of black people and civil rights workers in Alabama and could punish the local and state officials who aid and abet murderers. The constitutional amendments and laws passed after the Civil War give the federal government all the powers needed.

The unpunished murder of Mrs. Liuzzo shows once more that the movement in the South can rely only on itself for protection from racist attacks. Even when the federal government takes some token

Friends of Deacons Hold Harlem Rally

NEW YORK, Oct. 26 — A rally sponsored by the Friends of the Deacons for Defense and Justice filled the meeting hall at the Emmanuel A.M.E. Church at 37 W. 119 St. last night. The militant black audience of about 300 people was disappointed when Charles Sims, president of the Deacons, could not appear. They remained to listen and applauded a number of fiery speeches.

Jesse Gray, who chaired the meeting, explained that Sims had been forced to return to Bogalusa to appear in court about trumped-up charges against him.

Attorney Guttman, the first speaker, spoke about the situation in Bogalusa. He told of the most recent attack on the black community there, which has not been reported in the press. The Klan, he said, had gotten an illegal injunction on the basis of which the police arrested and imprisoned all the leaders in the community. Then they attacked the community — dragging people from their homes and beating them. Guttman reported that 28 people were left lying in the street in need of medical aid.

Other speakers at the rally were: Mae Mallory, defendant in the framed-up "kidnapping" case in Monroe, N.C.; LeRoi Jones, of the Black Arts Theater; Dr. Louis Micheaux, owner of the African Nationalist Bookstore; and Rique LeSeur, of the Friends of the Deacons. The Freedom Singers performed. A collection to aid the Deacons was taken.

step toward enforcing the law, it does so out of fear that otherwise black people will decide to enforce the law themselves, and in order to disguise its racism abroad. The development of self-defense organizations, like the Deacons for Defense and Justice, is the most effective way to prevent further racist murder.

The New York *Herald Tribune* and the York, Pa., *Gazette & Daily*, compiled a list of the widely known murders of black people and civil rights advocates in the South in the past decade. Following are some of the murders which occurred in Alabama from 1963 to the present:

• William L. Moore, the Baltimore postman, was shot while on a one-man "freedom walk" in Attalla in 1963. The grand jury refused to indict the one man arrested.

• Cynthia D. Wesley, Denise McNair, Carol Robertson, and Addie Mae Collins were the four children killed when their Sunday school was bombed in Birmingham in 1963. The accused was charged with illegal possession of dynamite and later released.

• Virgil Ware, a 13-year-old boy was shot to death in Birmingham while riding on a bicycle with his brother in 1963. Two white boys were convicted of second degree manslaughter and paroled in their parents' custody.

• At about the same time, Johnnie Roberson was killed by Birmingham policemen who said they intended to shoot over his head. The police were cleared.

• In 1965, Jimmie Lee Jackson died from gun wounds received in Marion while trying to protect his mother from being beaten by a state trooper. The policeman was cleared and a federal grand jury made no indictment.

• Rev. James J. Reeb died as the result of a beating in Selma this year. Three men were accused, but there were no convictions. The case is still pending in the state court.

• William Brewster was murdered by nightriders while returning home from work in Anniston. No one was even arrested.

• Jonathan Daniels was killed by a shotgun when he went into a store in Hayneville. Tom Coleman, who shot the seminarian, pleaded self-defense and was found not guilty of manslaughter.

Ala. Rights Group Urges New Party

"We all know what happened when the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party tried to work within the structure of the National Democratic Party (the party of Lyndon Johnson, George Wallace, Bull Connor, James Clark, John Sparkman) — they got the door slammed in their faces.

"If Alabama doesn't want to repeat what happened to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party then Alabama doesn't have to."

"**ALABAMA HAS A CHOICE!**

"Every county in Alabama can begin, now, to organize its own Political Party. Every county in Alabama can have a Political Organization which will hold a nominating convention next May, and nominate its own candidates for State and County Offices."

So reads part of a leaflet put out by the Alabama Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee from its office in Selma.

The leaflet attacks the Democratic Party as the party of the racists in Alabama and Lyndon Baines Johnson. "They all operate together, in Alabama and in Washington . . ." it declares.